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THE MESSENGER

OF THE

NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY

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NEW YORK, 70 FIFTH AVENUE

JANUARY, 1918

No. 3. Synopsis of Plans for International Organization.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF	On an International Legisla- ture (to enact international law and develop the inter- national organization).	On an International Court— and its jurisdiction.	On Arbitration and Con- ciliation for non-justiciable disputes.	On Sanctions: 1. Scope. 2. Kinds.	On an International Executive.	On Armaments, and on Social and Economic Conditions.	On Territorial Changes.	On Diplomatic Relations.
I. PRESIDENT WILSON	<p>A League for Peace; A coven- ant of all nations on the basis of equality.—January 22, 1917.</p> <p>"Some common covenant of the free peoples of the world that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and jus- tice in the dealings of nations with one another."—From the message to the Russian people, May 26, 1917.</p> <p>A book entitled, "Why we are at war," (Harper, 1917) con- tains the President's messages from January 22 to April 15, 1917. Cf. The Messenger for December, 1917, No. 2:—The Bases of Fu- ture Settlement as Pres. Wilson sees them.</p>			<p>1. "To hold the world at peace" by a guaranteeing force so much greater than the force of any one nation or alliance, that no nation or alliance could withstand it; "a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind."</p> <p>2. "There is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaran- teeing, and that is a peace em- bodying the democratic princi- ples of the American Govern- ments, consistent with their political faith and the practical convictions of the American peoples."—January 22, 1917.</p>		<p>Limitation of Armaments is "the most determined and in- tensely practical question con- nected with the fortunes of nations and mankind."</p> <p>"I am proposing that modera- tion of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an in- strument of aggression or of selfish violence."</p> <p>"Henceforth inviolable secur- ity of life, of worship, and of industrial and social develop- ment should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own."—January 22, 1917.</p>	<p>"No right anywhere exists to hand people about from sover- eignty to sovereignty as if they were property. . . . There should be a united, independent and autonomous Poland."</p> <p>Every great people should have "a direct outlet" to the sea. "Neutralization of direct rights of way" suggested.— January 22, 1917.</p>	<p>A Monroe Doctrine for the world: "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own poli- tics, its own way of develop- ment, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."— January 22, 1917.</p> <p>No entangling alliances, but a disentangling alliance, disen- tangling "the peoples of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests, and uniting them to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and jus- tice."—May 30, 1916.</p>
II. AMERICAN INSTI- TUTE OF INTERNA- TIONAL LAW. 2 Jackson Place, Wash- ington, D. C. Founded 1912.	<p>Third Hague Conference to which every country belonging to the society of nations is invited. Conferences should meet at regular stated periods. No single nation may assume a preponderating part. Accep- tance of principles of Interna- tional Law, as stated in Decla- ration adopted at Havana, January 6, 1916.</p>	<p>1. A Permanent Court created by a judicial union of the nations according to the plan of the Universal Postal Union of 1908.</p> <p>2. Justiciable Disputes, i. e., differences involving questions of law or equity; disputes con- cerning the interpretation of treaties, or concerning alleged breaches of international obli- gations.</p>	<p>The same as the Hague Con- vention, plus An International Council of Conciliation.</p>	<p>1 and 2 the same as The Hague Convention. Decisions of the Court shall be binding upon all parties to its creation.</p>	<p>A committee Ad Interim to supervise ratifications of con- ventions and declarations, and to promote their observance.</p>	<p>Every nation is free to de- velop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that, in so doing, it does not interfere with or vio- late the rights of other States.</p>	<p>Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence, but no State may protect itself or con- serve its existence by commit- ting unlawful acts against inno- cent and unoffending States.</p>	<p>Every nation is, in law and before law, the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations. Interna- tional law is both national and international, the law of the land and the law of the society of nations.</p>
III. AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.	<p>Founded 1815-1828, has adopted as its own the pro- gram of the American Insti- tute. The full text of this "Program for Peace through Justice," together with a state- ment of "The Rights and Duties of Nations," approved at the same time by the Insti- tute, has been published in each issue of the organ of the American Peace Society, The Advocate of Peace, since May, 1917, under the caption "A Gov- erned World."</p>							
IV. HENRI LA FONTAINE, Senator of Belgium, President of the Council of the Interna- tional Peace Conference, Bern, author of book entitled, The Great Solution, published by the World Peace Founda- tion of Boston, in 1916.	<p>A Conference of States, meeting automatically, at least once in two years on the 18th of May, probably at the Hague. Each State may cast one vote. Conventions adopted by a majority of States shall become valid as international law for those States. Dis- senting States may afterwards signify their adhesion.</p>	<p>1. An International Court of Justice, consisting of fifteen judges and fifteen deputy judges, elected by the confer- ence of States from an eligible list of candidates nominated by at least five States. Not more than two of the thirty judges may belong to one nation.</p> <p>2. A triple jurisdiction is recognized, "amicable, arbitral and contentious." The Court shall settle all disputes referred to it by agreement. The Court is open to the States and to their citizens. The Court may recommend improvements in the international judicial or- ganization for consideration by the Conference of States.</p>	<p>The Permanent Court of Arbitration; Good Offices and Mediation; International Com- missions of Inquiry, occasional or permanent; an International Council of Conciliation, eighty- three members chosen by States according to population; meet- ing in plenary or partial assem- blies; conclusions binding when approved by seven-tenths of the States represented, and representing at least one-half the population of the globe.</p>	<p>1. All conflicts between States shall be settled by the International Judicial organi- zation.</p> <p>2. First employ "indirect means of constraint," all moral, political, and economic forces. If these fail, national armies and the international navy are "means of direct constraint." No State may use physical force without the consent of the other States. If a State is attacked contrary to these regu- lations, the other States must help it in its defense.</p>	<p>The existing Permanent Ad- ministrative Council at the Hague, with an International Permanent Secretary; Adminis- trative Bureau (at Brussels); a Court Office; an International Preparatory Committee of the Conference of the States; and a Financial Committee. The Conference of States may set up a Council of Management in a weak and demoralized State which cannot maintain order.</p>	<p>"An International Naval and Military Committee, to direct national armies and the inter- national fleet in "collective measures of constraint and de- fense." This Committee con- trols all manufacture of arms and munitions of war needed by the States. Use of mines, submarine torpedoes, and poi- sonous or inflammable gases prohibited.</p> <p>Customs union of States pro- posed as a preparation for freedom of trade.</p> <p>Freedom of Commerce, with- out differential treatment, in all colonies.</p> <p>An International Institute of Migration created. Propor- tional immigration recognized as a principle.</p>	<p>No annexations or transfers of territories without consent of the population affected.</p>	<p>Treaties are valid only when approved by direct representa- tives of the peoples interested. Secret treaties are void. "Minor populations are under the col- lective protection of the States."</p>
V. THE ENGLISH FABIAN SOCIETY PLAN, published in L. S. Woolf's In- ternational Government (N. Y., Brentano, 1916).	<p>An International Council, legislating for all constituent States, or divided into four Committees as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Council of the eight Great Powers;2. Council of the other Powers;3. Council for Europe;4. Council for America. <p>The first Committee holds a veto power over the proceed- ings of the three others.</p> <p>International laws must be submitted to the Constituent States for ratification.</p>	<p>1. An International High Court, fifteen judges, eight rep- resenting the Great Powers, and seven chosen from other Constituent States.</p> <p>2. All justiciable questions.</p>	<p>The International Council performs also the duties of a Council for Inquiry and Con- ciliation, or it may appoint a Permanent Board of Con- ciliators, or Special Committees and Commissions of Inquiry.</p>	<p>1. To prevent a resort to war until twelve months after the dispute had been submitted to either Court or Council.</p> <p>2. To enforce decisions of the Court. States agree to use economic, or, if necessary, mili- tary compulsion against any Constituent State which vio- lates the agreement. Eleven forms of economic force spec- ified.</p>	<p>The Council creates an In- ternational Secretariat, a perma- nent staff for the President and other officers of the Interna- tional Council.</p>			<p>No treaty shall be valid un- less within three months from its date an authenticated copy is filed in the Registry of the High Court. It shall be also published in the Official Gazette conducted by the International Secretariat.</p>
VI. THE BRITISH GROUP, commonly called The Bryce Group, 1915. Address, G. Lowes Dickinson, King's Col- lege, Cambridge, England, au- thor of The Choice Before Us (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1917); Cf. a pamphlet entitled Proposals for the Prevention of Future Wars, by Lord Bryce and others (Allen & Unwin, 1917).	<p>A Union by treaty of the six great European Powers with the United States and Japan, such other European Powers as are willing to join, and any other Powers that may be al- lowed to join. Conferences shall be summoned to consider violations of the treaty.</p>	<p>1. The Court of Arbitral Justice proposed at the second Hague Conference, or some other arbitral tribunal.</p> <p>2. All justiciable disputes, including those affecting "honor and vital interests."</p>	<p>The permanent Hague Court of Arbitration, and a perma- nent Council of Conciliation, which may take the initiative in inviting a reference, in con- sidering disputes, publishing recommendations, and offering suggestions to the contending Powers.</p>	<p>1 and 2. Decision of Court in justiciable questions final, to be enforced by the signa- tory Powers. In non-justiciable disputes no signatory Power may begin hostilities without reference to the Council, or until six months after publica- tion of Council's report; other- wise the signatory Powers will defend one of their number against any Power by such diplomatic, economic, or forc- ible measures as are most effective and appropriate.</p>		<p>The Council may suggest to the signatory Powers the limi- tation or reduction of arma- ments or any other proposal leading to the avoidance of war or the diminution of its evils.</p>		<p>No signatory Power that vio- lates the treaty can claim help from any other signatory Power by virtue of any exist- ing or future treaty or agree- ment.</p>
VII. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY, 1 Central Buildings, Westminster, S. W.	<p>Any civilized State that wishes may join a League whose members bind them- selves to use peaceful methods for dealing with all disputes arising among them.</p>	<p>1 and 2. Hague Court of Arbitration or some other ju- dicial tribunal shall settle all justiciable questions.</p>	<p>A Council of Inquiry and Conciliation, representing the States in the League.</p>	<p>1. The decisions of the Court shall be final. The Council can make recommenda- tions only.</p> <p>2. The League will take "any action necessary" to en- force decisions of the Court, or to compel reference to a Council. The League will use diplomatic, economic or mili- tary means to defend any mem- ber of the League attacked by a non-member, who refuses to submit the dispute to Court or Council.</p>				
VIII. CENTRAL ORGANI- ZATION FOR A DURABLE PEACE, Raamweg 24, The Hague.	<p>The Hague Conference to be permanently organized and to "meet at regular intervals."</p>	<p>1. "A permanent Court of International Justice."</p> <p>2. All disputes to be settled by Court, or Council, or by Arbitration.</p>	<p>"In addition to the existent Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Council of Investigation and Conciliation."</p>	<p>1. To compel the acceptance of decisions and awards.</p> <p>2. Concerted action, diplo- matic, economic or military, against any State resorting to warfare instead of to Court or Council.</p>		<p>Agreement to reduce arma- ments. To this end "right of capture shall be abolished and the freedom of the seas as- sured."</p> <p>Freedom of commerce, or at least equal treatment for all nations within all colonies, pro- tectorates and spheres of influence.</p>	<p>No annexation or transfer of territory contrary to the wishes and interests of the population concerned; where possible, a plebiscite.</p>	<p>Parliamentary control of foreign policy assured in each nation. Secret treaties are void. Equality before law, re- ligious liberty and free use of native language guaranteed to all nationalities.</p>

No. 3. Synopsis of Plans for International Organization.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF	On an International Legislature (to enact international law and develop the international organization),	On an International Court— and its jurisdiction.	On Arbitration and Conciliation for non-justiciable disputes.	On Sanctions: 1. Scope. 2. Kinds.	On an International Executive.	On Armaments, and on Social and Economic Conditions.	On Territorial Changes.	On Diplomatic Relations.
IX. THE WORLD'S COURT LEAGUE, 120 Broadway, New York. Organized, May, 1915. Cf. the issues of the magazine, The World Court, published monthly by the League; David Jayne Hill's Rebuilding of Europe (Century Co., 1917), and James Brown Scott's Status of the International Court of Justice, published by the Carnegie Endowment through the Oxford University Press, 1916.	A conference of the Great Powers, or the Third Hague Conference, with successive conferences meeting automatically and frequently. Legislation adopted by a majority vote, resulting in progressive development of a body of International Law.	1. An International Court of Justice, representing the nations of the world. 2. Justiciable disputes.	The same as the Hague Convention, plus an International Council of Conciliation or Commissions of Inquiry.	1 and 2. The same as the Hague Convention.	Permanent Continuation Committee of the Conference with such powers as the Conference may grant.			
X. LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Organized, June, 1915. Cf. The League Bulletin, published weekly; also Robert Goldsmith's League to Enforce Peace (Macmillan, 1917, cloth or paper), and the following pamphlet publications of the World Peace Foundation of Boston: Historical Light on the League to Enforce Peace, The Conciliation Plan of the League, and A League of Nations, Vol. I, No. 1.	Conference of the Members of the League, held from time to time. Each State holds a veto power over legislation.	1. Judicial Tribunal. 2. Justiciable Questions.	A Council of Conciliation.	1. Solely to prevent a resort to war until after an inquiry by the Council, or hearing and judgment in the Court. 2. The "joint" use of diplomatic and economic pressure to compel the reference to Court or Council; and the joint use "forthwith" of military force against the nation that fights before referring. No pledge to enforce any decision or recommendation.	Proposals to recommend a "Ministry" or Administrative Council, are under consideration.			
XI. THE MARBURG STUDY GROUP, 1916-1917. Based on the program of the League to Enforce Peace, but without any official relation to it. Cf. Theodore Marburg's League of Nations (Macmillan, 1917).	International Legislative Assembly, to codify and develop international law. Representatives of States invited to Second Hague Conference, chosen on basis of units of population and units of commerce. Acts binding on each State unless rejected by it within one year.	1. International Court, fifteen resident judges, life tenure, not more than two from same country, chosen by an electoral college, which may also remove a judge for cause. No judge sits in case in which he or his country is interested. Expenses borne by the States in the League. 2. Justiciable disputes, and all other disputes that are referred by agreement. Jurisdiction to cover cases arising under private as well as public international law, open to all States and citizens, whether in the League or not.	A Council of Conciliation, one Member from each State in the League, to consider and report on non-justiciable questions and others referred by agreement. The Council also has powers of an executive committee of the League.	1. Both Court and Council have power of injunction against any member of League, while either inquiry or decision is pending. 2. The economic or military forces of the League or both.	Council names five of its own members, to be a Ministry of the League, always in session at the Hague, and responsible to the Council. It calls and dissolves the Assembly, maintaining a Secretarial Bureau, warns the League of contentions and tries to forestall them. Makes recommendations to disputants and, if necessary, advises the use of the forces of the League.			
XII. PAUL OTLET, Secretary of the Union of International Associations at Brussels. "La Charte Mondiale" was first published in "La Fin de la Guerre," which appeared in Brussels in October, 1914. A second edition of the plan is included in a volume entitled "Les Problèmes internationaux et la Guerre," Geneva, Kundig, 1917. It is also published by La Ligue pour une Société des Nations, 5, Cité Card. Lemoine, Paris. English translations can be found in the Advocate of Peace for February, 1917, and in a pamphlet issued by the Women's Union for Peace, 1, Greenside Place, St. Andrews, N. B.	Two Chambers, Lower House elected by parliaments; Upper House representing Associations. Also an International Council of States. Diplomatic conferences may propose international laws, which are valid if approved by Chambers and Council.	1. International Supreme Court under revised and completed Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. Also a Civil Court to decide disputes arising under private international law. 2. All differences between States.	A Council of Conciliation, approved and constituted by the first Hague Conference; Good Offices, Mediation, Special Mediation, International Commissions of Inquiry.	1. To assure world security and tranquillity, and to secure obedience to decisions of Court and Council. 2. If any nation violates peace all others summoned to resist. International Army or Police shall be not more than half total organized force of the States.	Council of States, which sanctions and promulgates international laws, chooses an International Ministry, twelve members, responsible to Council and to Chambers. International Unions are made branches of international administration, which shall direct international public works.	Army and Navy of each State, fixed in number by international Parliament, not to exceed in numbers a ratio of one to three hundred inhabitants; to this extent disarmament attained within two years. Commerce and industry free in all countries without discriminations in rates.	Territory of each State internationally guaranteed. By a three-fifths vote, subject nations may demand from the Confederation of States a recognition of independence. No right of conquest shall exist. Africa shall become an international domain. Inland States shall have right of passage to the seas through other countries for economic purposes.	The Confederation shall have in each State a diplomatic agent, who shall be a procurator of the International Court. Treaties and agreements between States valid only if approved by the national representatives of the people of the States.
XIII. THE HAGUE CONFERENCES, 1899 and 1907. Cf. James Brown Scott's Texts of the Peace Conferences at the Hague, and American Addresses at the Second Hague Conference, published by the World Peace Foundation; also Scott's Hague Peace Conferences in two volumes published by the Johns Hopkins University. Cf. also William I. Hull's The Two Hague Conferences, published by the World Peace Foundation.	The Third Peace Conference at the Hague was due in 1915. The hope was that these Conferences would meet at about eight-year intervals, upon initiative or invitation of one of the Powers. Also an International Council of States. Diplomatic conferences may propose international laws, which are valid if approved by Chambers and Council.	1. A Court of Arbitral Justice, a project unanimously approved at the Second Hague Conference. An International Prize Court, approved and constituted at the Second Hague Conference. 2. All disputes voluntarily submitted to it.	The Permanent Court of Arbitration, approved and constituted by the first Hague Conference; Good Offices, Mediation, Special Mediation, International Commissions of Inquiry.	1. Purely voluntary for both arbitration and award. 2. A national pledge, good faith, honor, national and international public opinion.	Permanent administrative Council, established by first Hague Conference, consisting of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Government of the Netherlands, and doing its work through the International Bureau at the Hague.	Limitation of land and sea forces and of war budgets, recommended at first Conference, referred by the second Conference to the Governments for earnest study.		
XIV. JAMES LORIMER, Institutes of the Law of Nations, 2 vols. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1884.	International Legislature in two Houses. Senators chosen by central authority in each State serve for life without international salary. Deputies, chosen by national legislatures, or by central authority, if no legislature exists. Each State pays Deputies and fixes terms. Each great power sends three Senators and fifteen Deputies. Representation of smaller States based on population, area and volume of business, fixed by Great Powers. Representatives of bankrupt State may neither vote nor sit in Legislature.	1. International Court in two branches, civil and criminal; fourteen judges and a president, all appointed for life by International Ministry. Each Great Power shall have one representative. On civil side, judgment determined by a majority of votes. 2. Questions of public International Law, depending on construction of treaties or acts of International Government and questions of private International Law, appealed from State tribunal with sanction of Government of one contestant. Attorney-General, named by International Ministry, may institute civil suits in name of Government, and have charge of prosecutions for international crimes. If he refuses to prosecute, appeal may be taken to Ministry.	The Permanent Court of Arbitration, approved and constituted by the first Hague Conference; Good Offices, Mediation, Special Mediation, International Commissions of Inquiry.	1. To enforce enactments of Legislature and decrees of Court. 2. Each State must provide prescribed number of men or amount of money as determined by Legislature. An International force sent from separate States to International Capital is subject to order of President, and maintained at international expense. No State may declare war independently, or levy troops beyond fixed number, or interfere with duties of any member of Legislature or Court, without incurring status of international rebel.	International Ministry—fifteen members (five Senators and ten Deputies), chosen annually by their respective branches of Legislature. Each Great Power shall have at least one representative. The Ministry shall elect one of their number President of International State and of Senate. If a Deputy, he becomes Senator for life. His approval gives validity to enactments of Legislature. A measure twice vetoed may become law if approved by majority of Ministry. The seat of International Government is preferably Constantinople; otherwise the Canton of Geneva, made international property. Time of annual meeting—Autumn.	The States shall reduce "simultaneously and proportionally" their national forces to limit indicated by municipal needs, but preserving relative power of each State unchanged. No separate State shall call out its additional international contingent, paid by itself, unless authorized by Legislature and duly notified by President. An international tax, proportional to representation of each State in the Legislature shall be levied by each State Government under oversight of the International Ministry.	Claims for annexation or changes of frontier settled by Legislature, or referred by it to the Court.	Non-European questions are within jurisdiction of Legislature only when non-European nations are represented there. Civil Wars, but not rebellions nor purely national questions, are within jurisdiction of legislature, which is competent to determine the character of the issue.
XV. WILLIAM LADD, President of the American Peace Society, published in 1840, An Essay on a Congress and a Court of Nations, which has been republished by the Carnegie Endowment (1916), with an introduction by James Brown Scott.	A Congress of civilized Nations, each Nation having one vote. A World-legislature, its agreements requiring unanimous approval and subsequent ratification.	1. A Court of Nations, authorized by the Congress, two judges appointed by each government represented in the Congress. Decision by majority vote. 2. Cases brought by mutual consent. Court may propose to the Congress new principles of international legislation.	The Court of Nations. It may propose offices of mediation.	1. Advisory power only. 2. Enforcement only by good-will of litigants and power of public opinion.	International use of armies and navies for police purposes not favored. Reduction of national land and sea forces by agreement in the Congress.	Boundary disputes should be referred to the Court.		

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XVI. JEREMY BENTHAM. Plan for a Universal and Perpetual Peace, written 1786- 1789, published in 1839. Cf. Works of Bentham, Bowring's edition, pt. viii, p. 546.	Congress or Diet, two depu- ties from each State, a diplo- matic conference rather than a legislature.	1. Congress shall be a Tri- bunal. 2. All differences.	The Congress.	1 and 2. Decisions enforced first by public opinion; second, if need be, by "putting re- fractory State under ban of Europe."		Forces reduced in each State and amount fixed by common agreement, securing reduction of taxation.	All colonies set free.	
XVII. KARL C. F. KRAUSE, (1781-1832). German philosopher, pub- lished in Deutsche Blätter for June and July, 1814, "A Propo- sition for a European League of States, as a basis of universal peace, and as a just defense against all attacks upon the inner and outer peace of Europe." Cf. articles by Dr. Clay Mac- Cauley in the Japan Advertiser, Tokio, January 30-31, and February 1, 1917, summarized in The Advocate of Peace for December, 1917, derived by him from an essay printed in Die Neue Zeit (Prague), in 1873.	A voluntary association of States in a League of Nations, each State having one vote in a Federal Council, with full legislative powers, sitting con- tinuously and representing the sovereigns in the league. Laws valid if unanimously approved. States approving a law may recognize it though others may not, but if disagreement occurs over the fundamental agree- ment of League, minority States should yield or withdraw from League. Fundamental covenant guar- antees perpetual union, mutual protection against all attacks from within or from without, affirmation of brotherhood of all peoples and nations, and of doctrine that Might is never the basis of Right.	1. A League Court. 2. All disputes between States "relating to rights or matters of justice." Court has power to decide whether League's original covenant has been violated.	The Federal Council should offer mediation or arbitration in all differences within or without the League.	1. States promise to give validity to all laws of Council and all decisions of Court, even with reference to States out- side the League. 2. State refusing to accept decision of Court is excluded from League, but League im- poses no other penalty. No appeal from League Court. League pledges defense of rights of members and of League as a whole, with united power of the States, against any State or coalition of States. Only the League de- clares war or makes peace.	The Federal Council assisted by various secretarial staffs, but all executive power belongs to the Council.	If need be, the League may make a legitimate use of force. States of League guarantee to each other equal rights to their own territories, "mutual hospi- tality of intercourse," equal rights to common waterways and to the ocean. German re- commended as a common lan- guage and Berlin as the League capital.	League abjures any increase in territory or population through fraud or war, for States in the League as well as for League as a whole.	Other States may be invited to join the League, but never compelled. In case of war States in the League may make special offensive and defen- sive alliances, "in accord with condition of League and exist- ing circumstances."
XVIII. IMMANUEL KANT. Kant's first suggestion of world-federation appeared in 1784. His essay on Eternal Peace, published in 1795-1796, was perhaps directly inspired by the Peace of Basle, 1795, closing the first phase of the French Revolution. An Eng- lish version published by World Peace Foundation, 1914; an- other by Macmillan, 1915. The American Peace Society issues it in pamphlet form. A free federation was Kant's ideal, based on the model of the an- cient Dutch Republic rather than on that of the United States of America, since the latter was declared to be indis- soluble.	A Permanent International Congress, representing a vol- untary federation of free States. Every State should be repub- lican, i. e., a representative gov- ernment.	1 and 2. Disputes to be settled by recourse to law.	Opinions of philosophers con- cerning the possibility of pre- serving peace shall be consid- ered by States armed for war. (In second edition, 1796).	1 and 2. "If it is our duty to hope that the universal dominion of public law may ultimately be realized by a gradual but continued process, the establishment of perpetual peace to take the place of those mere suspensions of hostility called treaties of peace, is not a mere chimera, but a problem," which time will solve.		Standing armies abolished. Troops of soldiers must not be hired and sold. World citizenship advocated in addition to national citizen- ship, so as to promote freedom of travel and intercourse. No national debts should be contracted for external affairs.	A State is a society of men over which no one but itself has right to rule or to trans- fer allegiance. No State may forcibly interfere with the con- stitution and government of another State. No indepen- dent State may be acquired by another through inheritance, exchange, purchase or donation.	Treaties of peace not valid if there are secret reservations of material for future wars. No State may use such methods of war as would im- pair mutual confidence in sub- sequent times of peace, such as, the use of assassins and pois- oners, the instigation of treach- ery and breaches of agreements.
XIX. J. J. ROUSSEAU. As editor of St. Pierre's works, Rousseau published in 1761 a revision of the former's plan for a Perpetual Peace, with a criticism called Jugement sur la Paix perpetuelle. Rousseau's model was the Swiss Confederation, or the German Empire as settled in 1648. He favored a confederation looser than that in St. Pierre's plan, but he suggested nothing original. Cf. C. E. Vaughan's English edition of Rousseau's Essay on a Last- ing Peace (Constable, 1917).	A Permanent Diet, repre- senting an irrevocable alliance of States, legislates for Europe, but may not change funda- mental agreement except by unanimous vote. Nineteen Powers or Groups of Powers in the Diet.	1. The Diet, acting as a court. 2. All Differences.	The Diet acting as a Tribu- nal of Arbitration.	1 and 2. A recalcitrant or hostile State, refusing to accept decisions, or taking up arms against the Confederation or against any member of it, to be outlawed, and by military power of other States, acting jointly and at the common expense, forced, if necessary, to repair wrongs and pay costs.		National forces intact for use of Confederation, but States renounce right to make war on one another. Freedom of trade between all States. Reduction of taxation.	The Confederation guaran- tees existing boundaries and rights of succession. Future disputes about such matters set- tled by arbitration of the Diet.	As no treaty could be so strong as the agreement of the Confederation, any other treaty would be useless, or null and void.
XX. THE ABBÉ DE ST. PIERRE. (Charles I. C. de St. Pierre) There were several editions of the Project for settling Per- petual Peace in Europe, 1712- 1728. The project was said to be based on "The Great De- sign" of Henry IV. Cf. Scott's Introduction to Ladd's Essay (Carnegie Endowment). St. Pierre advocated a perma- nent Union of Europe on the basis settled in the treaty of Utrecht in 1713-1714, the treaty of alliance establishing this status quo and the Union being unchangeable except by unani- mous consent.	Perpetual Congress of twenty-four Deputies, or Sena- tors, representing a union of European nations and possibly Asiatic States also. Deputies to be chosen among men of peace temperament, and to reside in a well fortified place, called "The City of Peace." Each Deputy has one vote, but smaller States are grouped together to give a single col- lective vote. The Deputies shall codify laws of commerce in accordance with equity, and shall enact laws necessary for the purposes of the Union.	1. The Senate. 2. Differences between States. Union will establish in cities, Chambers of Commerce to decide cases in private inter- national law, involving values above ten thousand pounds. Decisions without appeal, and sovereigns must enforce them.	The Senate should act as a Tribunal of Arbitration. A provisional judgment might be given by majority vote, and after six months might be made definitive, by a three- fourths majority vote. One Committee of the Senate should be a Committee of Reconci- lation.	1 and 2. Decisions to be enforced, if not by sovereign against whom award was given, by the united forces of the Union under a Generalissimo. The Union will coerce any sov- ereign who declares war inde- pendently, or refuses to obey laws of the Union or judg- ments of Senate.	An Executive Council of five Senators with other com- mittees.	National forces reduced to one thousand men in each State, kept chiefly for use of the Union which shall preserve con- stitution of each State, and aid rulers promptly against "seditious persons and rebels" (principle of the Holy Alli- ance of 1815). Powerful Sovereigns may with consent of Union maintain foreign mercenaries for police, but these soldiers may not ac- quire rights of citizenship. Common coinage, weights and measures and calendar for Europe.	Forces of the Union will drive Turks out of Europe. After that, a rational rear- rangement of boundaries, and then no more changes. Sovereigns may not exchange territory or sign any special treaty without approval of majority of the Union.	No sovereign may declare war, without sanction of Union. Union will protect weak sov- ereigns and minors during regency. At first admission to Union voluntary. After Union has fourteen votes, it will at- tack any sovereign refusing to enter, as "an enemy to the repose of Europe." The Senate shall be repre- sented in the lands and cities of the Union by Ambassadors and Residents, chosen from among the citizens of the City of Peace.
XXI. WILLIAM PENN. An Essay towards the Pres- ent and Future Peace of Eu- rope was published by Penn in 1693-1694. He acknowl- edged his debt to The Great Design of Henry IV, and to the republic of the United Nether- lands. Cf. William Penn's es- says as published in Everyman's Library, No. 724 (Dutton); also this essay in pamphlet form is issued by the American Peace Society, and in the Old South (Boston) Series, No. 75.	"General Diet, Estates, or Parliament," meeting period- ically; the sovereigns of Eu- rope being represented in the ratio of their revenues. This "Sovereign Assembly" would be a gathering of diplo- mats, about ninety in all, sit- ting in a round room with many doors. Voting by ballot. Presidents serve in rotation. One State, one vote. Meet in some central spot and use either Latin or French.	1. The Diet, sitting as a "Sovereign Court." 2. All disputes not settled by diplomacy.	Used in Colonial Pennsylv- ania, but not suggested for the World except as the Diet is expected to take cognizance of all differences.	1. To enforce both arbitra- tion and the award. 2. If any State refused to refer, or delayed compliance or rejected the decision of the Diet or resorted to hostilities, it should be compelled by "all the other Sovereignities United as One Strength," i. e., the united military power of the Confederation. Expense of en- forcement and damages for the party wronged might be exacted from the disobedient State.		Reduced to national needs, and limited by the Diet if necessary. Freedom of migration throughout Europe assured. Europe will be protected against the Turk.		"Wars are the duels of princes."
XXII. ÉMÉRIC CRUCÉ. The plan of Crucé, a French scholar, is contained in Le Nou- veau Cynée, published in 1623, the Great Design of Henry IV or Sully being not then known. Cf. Thomas Willing Balch's booklet, Emeric Crucé (Phila- delphia, Allen, Lane & Scott, 1900), and translation with French text, published by Mr. Balch in 1909 with title, The New Cineas, or Discourse of the Occasions and Means to establish a General Peace and the Liberty of Commerce throughout the whole world. Grotius also, in Laws of War and Peace, 1625, advocated periodic congresses of Chris- tian Powers, which would com- pel acceptance of decisions.	Congress of Ambassadors, representing all nations, even China and the Indies, and meet- ing perhaps in Venice in con- tinual session.	1. The Congress of Am- bassadors, the representatives of disputant nations pleading their causes; and the rest act- ing as judges. 2. Any disputes between States.	The Congress of Ambassa- dors.	1 and 2. Enforcement of decisions to be referred to the sovereigns represented in the Congress. All princes swear to maintain as inviolable law what the majority of deputies or- dains, "and to pursue with arms those who would wish to op- pose it."		National forces intact. Freedom of trade between nations suggested as an aid to peace.		The order of precedence in the Congress began as follows: The Pope, the Sultan, the Em- peror, King of France, King of Spain, the rest to be determined.

ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY
DECEMBER 19, 1917

The peace of servitude to any dynastic autocratic sovereign is unthinkable for us. We regard such a peace as unworthy of the name, and, in company with all other loyal organizations among our countrymen, we dedicate ourselves to the struggle to secure a permanent peace founded on the subordination of Governments, as of individuals, to the restraints imposed by the principles of ethics.

JANUARY, 1918

Disputes over readjustment of European boundaries were to be settled by arbitration; likewise disputes over the election of monarchs of the Holy Roman Empire, the eligible list of arbitrators including the Pope and various sovereigns of arbiters including the Emperor and republican magistracies.

DECLARATION

ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
NEW YORK PEACE SOCIETY
DECEMBER 19, 1917

To any constructive progress towards the substitution of law for war in the settlement of international disputes, a powerful obstacle exists in the belief that the State, regarded as the possessor of unlimited sovereign power, is superior to the dictates of law, of morality, and of humanity. This belief the only surviving European dynastic despots have used as the driving force of a vast scheme of conquest.

Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. We believe that a true and lasting international peace can now be assured only by the defeat of the German dictator. In the words of Dr. David Jayne Hill, "There can be no new world until there is a new Europe, in which the dogma that the State is a licensed brigand is smitten dead."

We believe that the ultimate penalties for this crime against civilization must be brought home to the Imperial clique who, despite their stereotyped repetitions to the contrary, first willed the war, and, by drawing the sword, compelled the rest of the world to resist or become their slaves. "It is our business," as President Wilson has said, "to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to their handling." Tacitus's epigrammatic condemnation of a Roman conquest will serve with a slight change for a description of a German peace: "They create slavery and call it peace." Let Belgium, Luxemburg, Northeastern France, Slesvig, Bohemia, Poland, Rumania and Serbia be witnesses!

The peace of servitude to any dynastic autocratic sovereign is unthinkable for us. We regard such a peace as unworthy of the name, and, in company with all other loyal organizations among our countrymen, we dedicate ourselves to the struggle to secure a permanent peace founded on the subordination of Governments, as of individuals, to the restraints imposed by the principles of ethics.